Report on Religious Life in Indonesia

THE POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

THE 2013 CURRICULUM, AND THE PUBLIC SPACE OF THE SCHOOL

Suhadi
Mohamad Yusuf
Marthen Tahun
Budi Asyhari
Sudarto

CRCS
Center for Religious & Cross-cultural Studies

PROGRAM STUDI AGAMA DAN LINTAS BUDAYA
CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS AND CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES
GRADUATE SCHOOL, UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA

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Authors:
Suhadi
Mohamad Yusuf
Marthen Tahun
Budi Asyhari
Sudarto

Editors:
Zainal Abidin Bagir
Linah K. Pary

Translator:
Niswatin Faoziah

English Editor:
Gregory Vanderbilt

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Telp/Fax: 0274 544976
www.crcs.ugm.ac.id; Email:crcs@ugm.ac.id

ABBREVIATIONS

AGPAII	:	Association of Indonesian Islamic Education Teachers (Asosiasi Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam Indonesia)
BSE	:	Electronic School Books (Buku Sekolah Elektronik)
BSNP	:	National Education Standards Agency (Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan)
CBSA	:	Student Active Learning (Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif)
FGD	:	Focus Group Discussions
G 30 S	:	September 30th Movement (Gerakan 30 September)
HPK	:	Association of Belief Groups (Himpunan Penghayat Kepercayaan)
IAE	:	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IPM	:	Muhammadiyah Student Association (Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah)
IPNU	:	Nahdlatul Ulama Student Union (Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama)
KBK	:	Competency-Based Curriculum (Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi)
KD	:	Basic Competency (Kompetensi Dasar)

Kemdikbud	:	Ministry of Education and Culture (Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan)
Kemenag	:	Ministry of Religious Affair (Kementrian Agama)
KI	:	Core Competency (Kompetensi Inti)
KK	:	Family Card (Kartu Keluarga)
KNIP	:	Central Indonesian National Committee (Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat)
KTP	:	National Identity Card (Kartu Tanda Penduduk)
KTSP	:	Education Unit Level Curriculum (Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan)
LDK	:	Campus *Da'wah* Organization (Lembaga Dakwah Kampus)
MA	:	Islamic High School (Madrasah Aliyah)
MI	:	Islamic Elementary School (Madrasah Ibtidaiyah)
MNPK	:	National Council on Catholic Education (Majelis Nasional Pendidikan Katolik)
MPR	:	People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat)
MPRS	:	Temporary People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara)
MT	:	Islamic Junior High School (Madrasah Tsanawiyah)
ECD	:	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSIS	:	Intra-school student association (Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah)
PAI	:	Islamic Religious Education (Pendidikan Agama Islam)
PAK	:	Christian Religious Education (Pendidikan Agama Kristen)

PGI	: Communion of Churches in Indonesia (Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia)
PII	: Indonesian Islamic Students (Pelajar Islam Indonesia)
PIRLS	: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
PISA	: Program for International Student Assessment
PP	: Government Regulation (Peraturan Pemerintah)
PPIM	: Center for the Study of Islam and Society (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat)
PPP	: United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan)
PPR	: Reflective Pedagogical Paradigm (Paradigma Pedagogi Reflektif)
PSK	: Fellowship of Christian Students (Persekutuan Siswa Kristen)
Rohis	: Islam Spirituality intra-school organization (Rohani Islam)
Roka	: Catholic Spirituality intra-school organization (Rohani Katolik)
Rokris	: Christian Spirituality intra-school organization (Rohani Kristen)
RUU	: Draft bill (Rancangan Undang-Undang)
SD	: Elementary School (Sekolah Dasar)
Sisdiknas	: National Education System (Sistem Pendidikan Nasional)
SKL	: Competence Standards for Promotion (Standar Kompetensi Lulusan)
SMA	: Senior High School (Sekolah Menengah Atas)
SMK	: Vocational High School (Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan)

SMP	:	Junior High School (Sekolah Menengah Pertama)
TIK	:	Specific instructional objectives (Tujuan Instruksional Khusus)
TIMSS	:	Trends in International Mathematic and Science Study

FOREWORD

In 2014, a new government took office. The new president and vice president were selected through a democratic process. As part of his vision for education, the president pointed to the importance of character education, moral education, and ethics education that put forward the values of Indonesia's national motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" ("Unity in Diversity"). In our opinion, religious education in schools makes a significant contribution to the development of students' character, morality, and ethics.

The issue is, on one hand, whether religious education in schools can be integrated into character, moral, and ethical education that is characterized by diversity. Although the ultimate purpose of religious education in schools is the development of character grounded in faith and piety, it is still worth questioning whether religious education is aligned with and able to contribute to the development of character centered on "Unity in Diversity." Otherwise, it will bring about a clash between the kinds of character being formed in the world of education, if, for example, religious education seeks to shape character that is intolerant.

On the other hand, it is important to consider these questions by conducting critical examinations of the politics of education, religious education curricula, and other aspects that determine the students' religious character in the school. Unfortunately, such studies are still very rare. Therefore, this monograph is structured to meet the need for a critical study of

religious education in schools and to find possibilities that can be explored in the development of religious education character that respects differences.

Contents of the Report

The writing of this report was inspired by regular research activities at the Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University, carried out between 2008 and 2012. During the process of discussing our research, we uncovered many significant topics requiring analysis and the application of a historical perspective that would take more than a single year to research and report on. Therefore we have decided to replace our regular annual report covering many topics related to religious life in Indonesia with a report covering one topic in depth; this report we offer our readers concerns religious education in schools and the issue of the public space of the school. The school institution is understood here as a public space that shapes the transformation of values of future generations on a large scale.

There are three main topics examined in this report. The first chapter investigates the politics of religious education by examining the dynamics of the history of religious education, analyzing the ideology of religious education through an analysis of national education goals, and positioning religion in student identity formation. Another topic considered in this chapter is religious education for so-called *penghayat kepercayaan* belief groups, which practice beliefs not recognized by the state as religions, as part of an "affirmative action" program for these groups which generally occupy very marginal positions in the system of the politics of religious policy in Indonesia. This first section was written by Suhadi, who also prepared the report design, wrote the preface, introduction, and conclusion, and served as editor for the whole monograph.

The second section concerns the 2013 curriculum as a whole and the curriculum for religious education within it. While the main topic is the 2013 curriculum, it is necessary to examine previous prevailing curricula, in particular the

KTSP curriculum issued in 2006. Besides trying to understand critically in general the presence of the 2013 curriculum, this discussion focuses on the study of spiritual competence which is a new responsibility for all subjects taught in school. The analysis of the religious education and character education in the 2013 curriculum allowes for three identifications of weaknesses in religious education. This section was written by Mohamad Yusuf and Marthen Tahun.

The third section is related to religion in the public space of the school. According to this research, although the dynamics from one school to another is so diverse, the presence of spiritual organizations in general is very significant in terms of shaping religious identity in the public space of the school. Hence one of the inquiry in this study concerns spiritual organizations, in particular those promoting Islamic, Protestant, and Catholic spiritualities. In discussing spiritual organizations, this monograph examines the shifting point of spiritual organizations before and after the Reform Era in relation to the curriculum and the methods for the transformation of values. The discussion concludes with a study of public space and the role of the school administration. This section was written by Budi Asyhari, Sudarto, and Suhadi.

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As part of the research process which produced this monograph, we held two workshops with teachers and education practitioners. Our sincere thanks to Mr. Miftakodin, the representative of Curriculum Development Team of the Department of Education, Youth, and Sports of Yogyakarta who is also a national instructor of the 2013 curriculum. We also would like to thank all the participants involved in the workshop whom we cannot name one by one. Our appreciation goes to Mrs. Olvi Prihutami, S.Th. MPD., from the Koinonia Communion of Churches in Indonesia (PGI) who provided clarifications we required.

We would like to thanks the rector of Gadjah Mada University and the director of the Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University, who have always provided enthusiasm and encouragement to produce high quality research to all academic staff of Gadjah Mada University. This study is part of Pluralism Knowledge Programe at CRCS supported by Hivos. Therefore, we also like to thank Hivos. A word of thanks to Dr. Zainal Abidin Bagir for his professional contribution as well as for his careful and critical review. Also thanks to Linah K. Pary for her professional support as editor of the Indonesian-language edition, Niswatin Faoziah as English translator and Gregory Vanderbilt as English editor of this monograph.

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We take responsibility for any imperfection that may exist and we are very grateful this monograph on religious education can be published and presented to our dear readers. We wish you happy reading!

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Part I

INTRODUCTION

Since 1966, religious education has been compulsory for every student at every level of education in Indonesia, including primary, secondary and undergraduate (S-1) levels. Anyone now aged 54 years old or younger who attended primary school from the age of seven and graduated from senior high school almost certainly attended twelve years of religious education classes as a compulsory subject.

In addition to the formal objectives usually formulated in the curriculum, religious education aims to elevate students' faith and piety, and we realize that there are two aspects expected from religious education at school in the context of education in Indonesia. *First*, religious education should also be responsible for building students' social character, such as strengthening their empathy and honesty. *Second,* from the perspective of Indonesia as a religiously and ethnically pluralistic country, religious education is expected to contribute to fostering inter-religious tolerance. Considering these two expectations, the report will focus on the role of religious education in relation to these two points.

Meanwhile, we see that there are many issues regarding tolerance that must be taken into account. The Annual Reports on Religious Life published by the Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies, Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University, from 2008 to 2012 pointed to two kinds of conflicts or violence that occur in religious relationships in Indonesia: first, conflict concerning houses of worship and, second, internal conflicts within religions or, in other words, "religious blasphemy,"

which arise continually among Muslims in particular. Two other reports from the perspective of religious freedom conducted within almost the same period, namely the reports of the Wahid Institute and the Setara Institute, show that the situation of inter- and intra- religious relations in Indonesia is increasingly alarming.

It is naïve to hope the development of tolerance rests entirely on religious education. However, experiments conducted in Jakarta, Banten and Yogyakarta (CRCS and Tifa 2010) show that religious education that promotes multiculturalism and openness to diversity contributes to the establishment of inter- and intra- relationships among teachers and, in turn, transforms relations among their students. Considering that the challenge of inter-group relations is becoming increasingly complex nowadays, the alternative of intensifying multicultural religious education is quite reasonable and feasible. This is the position taken in this monograph. It is not difficult to trace the educational purposes of religious education curricula; there are, in fact, two essential aspects: namely, internal aspects of strengthening faith and piety and external aspects in developing tolerance. Unfortunately, great expectations for religious education are not equally counterbalanced by good curriculum design or appealing teaching methods for students. In addition, teacher creativity in developing multicultural religious education seems to be inadequate.

In fact, it is frequently said that the religious education at school is one of the least interesting subjects for students. A survey conducted by the Center for Islamic Studies and Society (PPIM) of the Islamic State University (UIN) Jakarta in public and Islamic senior and junior high schools in Jakarta and South Tangerang, which was widely reported by the media in 2012, showed that students find the teaching of Islamic education boring. At the same time, stakeholders such as the government, school administrations, and teachers still view religious education as a less strategic area. Moreover, associations related to religious education, such as the Association of Indonesian Islamic Education Teachers (Asosiasi Guru Pendidikan Agama

Islam Indonesia (AGPAII)) and similar organizations belonging to other religions, do not make the full contribution they are capable of, except in a few specific regions where they work effectively. This monograph assumes that religious education should not only be delivered in an interesting way but at the same time also has a strategic position for the nation. These are our two underlying motivations in developing the ideas presented here.

First, despite critics of religious education, legislation makes religious education curriculum compulsory for students. Efforts to abolish the obligation, during, for example, the legislative process resulting in the National Education System (Sisdiknas) Law of 2003, have not been successful. Consequently, the most important current agenda is to enhance and manage the curriculum of religious education effectively.

Second, as a consequence, religious education is a strategic area since it reaches many future generations of Indonesians all over the country at every level from elementary to higher education. Recent statistics from the 2010 Census show that as many as 65,661,314 have graduated from public and Islamic elementary schools (SD, MI) and as many as 36,304,128 from public and Islamic junior high schools (SMP, MT). These numbers show just how many have studied between six and nine years of religious education at school.

Graduates of public, Islamic, and vocational high schools (SMA, MA, SMK) now number as many as 40,450,387 and another 6,653,101 have graduated from university. They have all had religious education for twelve years, and thirteen for those who went on to higher education where a single course in religious education is the usual requirement. Cumulatively, this data shows that 80.8% of Indonesians over the age of five years old have received religious education at a range of different levels.[1] Religious education in this report is limited to subject

1 In 2010, the population of Indonesians over the age of 5 years was 214,962,624 inhabitants. The number cited above does not include those who did not or have not yet completed primary education nor those who graduated with two-year associate (Diploma I, II, III) or masters or doctoral degrees.

of religion taught in public schools or in the non-religious departments of religious schools.

Perspectives, Questions, and Data

We establish the term of multiculturalism, with the enrichment of other concepts, as the most suitable perspective for our analysis. It must be taken into account that, whether they like it or not, students at school must clearly state their religious identity. Religious identification must be firm—it cannot be in shades of gray. We are going to discuss in more detail in the next chapter how religion separates students. Ultimately, the existing situation at schools and in society pushes students, if they are not vigilant, into a social environment segregated by religion. Accordingly, the concept of multiculturalism is an appropriate perspective for investigating this situation.

While curriculum is essential, this report does not view it as the only educational structure at school. It sets out two educational structures in schools, namely curriculum in the classroom and public space in the school outside the classroom. In this report, we set out to discuss both.

In discussing the curriculum in the classroom, we will focus our analysis on the curriculum of 2013. Our primary question is whether the religious education curriculum encourages the principle of multiculturalism. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the 2013 curriculum from the perspective of multiculturalism? In our discussion of public space, we will focus on the challenges of resurgence of religious identity in public space in schools since the 1998 Reformation Era. Our question is whether public spaces that exist in schools encourage the development of an attitude of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism is defined not only as an effort to accept diversity, but also the encouragement to *understand* and to *respect* religious identities that are different (Ahimsa-Putra, 2009). At CRCS, we have had dynamic theoretical discussions on the experience of Indonesian identity from the perspective of multiculturalism. One was recorded and published as *Civic*

Pluralism: A New Direction in Political Diversity in Indonesia (Bagir et al., 2011). This monograph draws on the conceptual framework of that book.

Ideally, a multicultural perspective becomes both an educational objective in the classroom and a principle shaping the process of student interaction in the public space of the school. The multicultural perspective of in education can also be seen as aligned with UNESCO's Four Pillars of Learning: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be. Furthermore education is aimed at building up students' cognitive and motor skills (learning to know, learning to do) and should promote their ability to live together with others (learning to live together).

There is, in fact, nothing wrong with the strengthening of religious symbols or identity in the public space of the school, even though it is considered something to be avoided from the perspective of secularism. Public schools need not show antipathy to religious symbols, nor should they force them on their students. The revival of religious identity need not be worrying if there is also appreciation of diversity. However it can be problematic if it is followed by discriminatory treatment of students of different religious backgrounds and the development of an atmosphere of intolerance in school. To ensure that this does not occur, it is essential to cultivate political recognition, representation, and redistribution in relation to differences of religious identity in school and in education in general. Bagir and Dwipayana (2011) have explored these three political instruments in the context of religious politics in Indonesia that can be applied at the smaller and more specific scale of the school and education in general.

First, *recognition* is the identification of the most fundamental and significant different groups within multiculturalism. Without sincere recognition of or even with merely formal recognition to them, there can be no firm foundation for multiculturalism. The characteristics of recognition at school are the extent to which the plural entities in the school are

respected and the diversity is recognized by each element of the school, *i.e.* teachers, staff, and students. Moreover, its quality must be proven through how inclusive the school is and how much diversity can be accommodated at school. Among public schools, the more exclusive the school, the less opportunity there is for groups of students from different religious backgrounds to become a part of the community and join in the common life in the school. For further discussion of the inclusive and exclusive relationships in the school environment, please refer to Salim et al., *The Politics of Public Space in Schools* (CRCS, 2011).

Second, *representation* is required to initiate participation and to guarantee aspirations for diversity in school. For example, at more pluralistic public schools which have significant numbers of Christian students, there should be leaders of the student association (OSIS) who are Christians. On the other hand, pluralistic public schools with Muslim students as the minority are similarly obliged to involve them as OSIS leaders. This representation is also an indication of the acceptance of diversity. The principle of representation is not intended to lead to political contestation in the educational sphere, but rather as a medium for learning about plurality. That learning can, for example, take the form of decision making about aspects of common life which value diversity in school.

Third, *redistribution* operates in the arena of school policy. In schools with diverse student bodies, the primary issue is how to manage difference itself. Schools holding the principles of multiculturalism seek to meet the needs of diverse students. Moreover, the school administration should *actively* work for redistribution as a consequence of the reality of school diversity; it should not wait to react. Ideally, the administration of the school should work through school policy to support the fulfillment of equal rights and fairness for students of diverse religious identities according to their needs. Because they are in charge of school policy, school administrators should take *anticipative* steps to see that schools are a space for students to learn to cultivate an attitude of mutual tolerance. One example of redistribution is scholarships for poorer students.

A school which has a multicultural perspective should provide scholarships to students who deserve them, regardless of religious identity. Another example is the allocation of funds for field trips. Whenever there are funds for Muslim students in Islamic religious education classes for field education, there should also be for Hindu students in Hindu religious education classes.

The data in this report is derived from documentation by the CRCS Research Center. For more than six years, our Research Center had collected research materials around the topics of religious life in Indonesia, religion in public policy, harmony and freedom of religion in Indonesia and other subjects, including religious education in schools. This monograph also uses materials and the results of previous research on religious education by CRCS with the support of the Graduate School. Other data are taken from documents produced by the Ministry of Education and Culture, in particular regarding the 2013 curriculum. Furthermore, to enrich the data and to sharpen the analysis of the research as we prepared the report, we held two focus group discussions (FGD) in October and December 2013 involving teachers, education observers, and researchers.

Part II

EDUCATIONAL POLITICS AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Historically, it is possible to observe clearly a close linkage between political situations and ideologies adopted by the government towards education, and religious education in particular. The increasingly strong position of religious education cannot be separated from such historical relationships, nor can the 2013 Curriculum, which makes "spiritual attitude" a Core Competency-1 (KI-1) in all school subjects, be understood outside the context of strengthening religious ideology in the Reform Era. Actually there are distinctions and distance between the concepts of "spiritual" and "religious" (*agama*) concept, but unfortunately the educational world has often had difficulty distinguishing between the two and, in turn, spirituality has often been reduced to religion. Recently, the situation in the educational world seems to be derived from the structure of public policy based on ideas of "faith and piety" and "noble character," dominant ideas in the Reform Era, even including them in the "Education and Culture" amendments to the 1945 Constitution and in the educational goals of the National Education Law of 2003.

Historical Dynamics

In the era of Dutch colonial rule, the colonial government supported the development of Christian schools and education but otherwise minimized the development of Islamic schools and education. In 1831, the Dutch colonial government recognized church schools as government schools (Hasbullah, 1995:72-73). Later, in 1882, it also established a special committee on Islamic

religious life and education (Surjomiharjo, 1986:151-153).

Shortly after independence, the Indonesian government established the Ministry of Education, Instruction and Culture. The educational objective in this era was to instill the spirit of patriotism. In that very difficult political situation, "religious instruction" (the term used at the time) came to the attention of the government. On December 29, 1945, the Working Committee of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP), the first government structure enacted after Indonesian independence, issued recommendations on the reform of education and teaching.

The recommendation concerning the teaching of religion read: "Religious instruction should be given regularly as well as thoroughly, so it receives appropriate attention without compromising the independence of those groups who want to follow the beliefs they trust." (Department of Education 1986: 145). On close reading, the statement contains two spirits: on one hand, there is a recognition of the existence of religious teaching and, on the other, appreciation for citizens' liberty in matters of religion and conviction.

Following political processes and a series of Education Congresses initiated in March 1946 by Ki Hajar Dewantara and Soegarda Poerbakawatja as the leaders of the Investigative Committee on Teaching, the first education law in the Republic of Indonesia—Law No. 4 of 1950 (jo. Act No. 12 of 1954) on the Basics of Education and Teaching—was enacted in 1950. According to Article 3, the purpose of education and teaching established in this law is "to foster decent competent human beings and democratic citizens who have good morals and take responsibility for the welfare of society and the homeland."

In the law, there are rules for religious instruction. Article 20, paragraphs 1 and 2, states that "In the public schools where there is religion education, parents will determine whether their children will attend the lessons or not." At this point, the religious instruction was not yet a compulsory subject, but, rather, it was a choice. The law stated that adult students

could determine whether to take religious education or not. In addition, it also explicitly declared that religious education could not be a determining factor in promotion to the next level.

In the era of "guided democracy" (Demokrasi Terpimpin) from 1959 to 1965, the national education design tended to socialist conceptions. Along with the ideological campaign of political manifesto (Manipol) initiated by Sukarno, the national education goals were directed to support for Indonesian socialism. The provision of a Temporary People's Consultative Assembly (Tap MPRS) No. II / MPRS / 1960 Chapter II, Article 2 stated that the goal of the national education system was "the formation of experts in development in accordance with the terms of humanity in Indonesian socialism and of noble character." The government established religious education as subject in schools at every level from elementary to university, but students were entitled not to participate. It also explicitly confirmed that if adult students or parents or guardians of minors stated their objections, they were not required to participate.

The situation changed very rapidly after the events of 1965, the fall of Sukarno and the rise of Suharto. The goals of education were also affected. If the ideology of education in the era of Guided Democracy was to foster a socialist humanity, the ideology at the beginning of the New Order Era was to promote followers of Pancasila. The Temporary People's Consultative Assembly (TAP MPRS) No. XXVII / MPRS / 1966 on Religion, Education and Culture, Article 3, stated that "the purpose of education is to foster true followers of Pancasila." Under this provision, religious education was also established as a compulsory subject for students from elementary school to university for the first time. Article 1 explicitly "removed" the possibility of opting out that had existed in the 1960 version. Moreover, one "substance of education" named in Article 4 was "to enhance mental character and strengthen religious belief."

In this historical and political context, the obligatory nature of religious education in schools after 1966 was in part to protect education from communism. The idea that the mission

of education in general and specifically the position of religious education were to "strengthen religious beliefs" had just started to emerge at that time. This investigation is crucial since the educational ideology put forth from the New Order Era into the Reform Era considers religion as forming a significant identity for education.

It is important to realize that religious education as a compulsory subject in school was a new policy begun in the New Order and was not free from criticism. There was even the half-hearted criticism delivered by Fuad Hassan, Minister of Education and Culture from 1985 to 1993, who argued that religious education was the responsibility of parents, not the state. Therefore, it was inappropriate for public institutions— he was not referring to Islamic boarding schools/*pesantren*, seminaries, or other religious institutions— to be burdened with such a task that was not among its obligations. It seems Hassan wanted to express his desire that religious education be restored primarily to religious schools and institutions. It had already been proposed at the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) session in 1973 that the "obligatory" status of religious education be made "optional" again, but there had been disagreement from Islamic political parties traumatized by the resurgence of communism (Munjid 2013). A similar debate emerged in early 2000s during the legislative process of the draft bill on the National Education System (RUU Sisdiknas), but, once again, efforts to eliminate religious education from public schools did not succeed. After that, rarely do we hear any criticism of compulsory religious education in schools. For many, the more important agenda now is how to create religious education that is multicultural and tolerant.

Educational Goals and Religious Education

In the rules of law level, the phrase of "faith and piety towards God Almighty" initially emerged as an educational goal in the 1989 National Education System Law. The idea was not yet present in a similar earlier law, Law No. 4 1950 on the Basics of Education and Teaching (jo. Act No. 12 of

1954) but it appeared in the early 1960s in Law 22 of 1961 on Higher Education. The purpose of education in that law reflected the political direction of education in the Sukarno era: socialism. Although religion in the national policy politics has strengthened since the fall of Sukarno in 1966, in the provision of the people's consultative assembly (TAP MPR) still more emphasized on Pancasila than on the concept of faith and piety. Meanwhile, the 2003 National Education System Law puts back the idea of "faith and piety towards God Almighty" and even adds "noble character" as one of its educational goals.

Table: Comparison of Educational Objectives

Law 4 1950 on the Basics of Education and Teaching (Article 3)	Law 22 of 1961 on Higher Education (Article 2)	TAP MPRS No. XXVII / MPRS / 1966 on Religion, Education and Culture	Law 2 of 1989 on the National Education System (Article 4)	Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System (Article 3)
"to foster decent competent human beings and democratic citizens who have good morals and take responsibility for the welfare of society and the homeland."	"to establish a moral humanity with the spirit of Pancasila that will be responsible for the implementation of a socialist society in Indonesia that is fair and prosperous, materially and spiritually ...".	"to develop true followers of Pancasila based on the provisions required by the Preamble and contents of the Constitution of 1945"	"to educate the life of the nation and develop an inclusive Indonesian humanity faithful and devoted to God Almighty and of character virtuous and noble, knowledgeable and skillful, with physical and spiritual health, stability and independence of personality, with a sense of social responsibility and national identity."	"aimed at developing students' potential in order to become faithful human beings fearful of God Almighty, noble, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative, independent, who will become democratic and accountable citizens."

The comparison table above shows the shifting and different emphases related to the purpose of education from era to era. In the 1950s, the main idea was "morality," but then shifted to "socialism" in the 1960s. After the events of the September 30th Movement (G 30 S) in 1965, the idea of socialism did not appear again. Pancasila ideology was now reinforced. In the Suharto era, especially in 1980s, the idea of the principle of faith and piety replaced the previous ideas concerning with morality, socialism, and Pancasila as the educational objectives. In the National Education System Laws of 1989 and 2003, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution were set out as the "bases of education." The term "nobility" (*berakhlak mulia*) in the Education Law of 2003 is interesting to observe, since the term is not found in the Education Law in 1989. There the term used is "noble character ..." (*berbudi pekerti luhur*).

The idea of "faith and piety" and "nobility" in the Education Law has an ideological basis that reflects the mainstream of educational objectives in the Reform Era. The fourth stage of the 2002 amendments to the 1945 constitution, Chapter XIII "Education and Culture," Article 31, paragraph 3, states that "the Government shall manage and organize a national education system, which enhances faith and piety and good character in the context of the intellectual life of the nation ..." That clause did not exist in the 1945 constitution prior to the amendment. What is the meaning of that point in the constitution? According to Arskal Salim, it was put forth as a political trade-off after the failure to incorporate the idea of *sharia* in the amendments to Article 29 when Islamic political parties in the parliament, especially the United Development Party, (PPP) reversed course to instead insert the clause about "increasing faith and piety and noble character" into Article 31. The non-Islamic parties in parliament could eventually accept the idea proposed by the United Development Party (F-PPP) because the significance of the clause was merely as part of the efforts for "the intellectual life of the nation." On the other hand, the Islamic political parties could interpret it as a small step towards the future application of *sharia* in the constitution.

Therefore, for political Islam, education is an effective way to make the public understand about the importance of *sharia* (Salim, 2008: 104-105).

Meanwhile, scrutiny of the purposes behind the words "faith and piety" and "nobility" in the 2003 Education Law shows they were not only found in the Reform Era of reform but were also already present in the New Order Era. The Law states that the aim of education is to promote the establishment of "democratic and responsible citizens" (there are many other objectives, see table in page 13). In our opinion, the ideology of "democracy" *can* be counterbalanced, so that the presence of religious education is not stuck in an exclusive model of religious education, leading to the instilling of intolerance. In fact, civic education and Pancasila or civic education in the 2013 curriculum, contain strong materials on democracy and religious tolerance. But unfortunately, what is commonly understood when it comes to the subject of religious education becomes the paradigm prioritized apart from even the authorization to encourage the establishment of "democratic citizens." Therefore, it is not surprising that the religious education curriculum frequently becomes exclusive. This condition can be viewed, without understanding, as stemming from the power and political influence of religion outside the world of education.

We argue that ideally there is no firm paradigm "dividing" responsibility in achieving the educational goals, stating, in other words, that faith and piety are the responsibility of religious education while democracy is the responsibility of Pancasila and civic education. What should be prioritized are the subjects themselves, at least insofar as they are inter-disciplinary. Therefore, the third section of this monograph investigates how the practice of the two existing sets of values in religious education, namely faith and piety and democracy, operates without any intention of negating other important values.

Religion as a Student Index

Observing the construction of religious identity in schools and education in general, it is possible to say that, in education,

"religion" has become "index of students." Index is defined as an "indicator" that also attaches to a student's identity. Though it is possible to bring out a range of variables in relation to orientation of models of diversity, students cannot be separated from their religious identifications. Whether they like it or not, all students must identify their own religions and, at the same time, they know and compare their identities with their classmates'. To function as index, the category must be firm. This requirement leads to many problems because of the immense diversity of religion in Indonesia which cannot be accommodated by the aim of an identification model of student identity. As shown below, religious education that assumes the existence of firm identity detaches students based on their religions—a condition which is derived from the assertiveness of Indonesian religious politics—triggering problems since the religious education cannot adequately accommodate the religious diversity of students, including diversity within each religion itself.

This seems to be a consequence of structures outside the world of education, namely the political structure of citizenship, in which every resident should have a religious identity, with all its complications (See: Annual Report on Religious Life in Indonesia 2009, CRCS UGM, pp. 16-20). Every citizen must include a religious identity in his or her national identity card (KTP) and other civil documents, including the Family Card (KK) in which religious identity of family members, including children, must be stated. The religion column in the Family Card encourages parents to definitively determine the religious identity of each newborn child.

In turn, when the child is at the age of elementary school, a parent or guardian must list a religious identity for the child when applying to schools. This identity becomes a guide for schools to determine what religious instruction will be given to the students concerned. In general, school registration forms from elementary to college levels include a space or column for the student's religious identity. Here is a point of convergence, between, on one hand, the educational structure generating religious education as a compulsory subject that affects the

politics of religious policy as an index of students in the school and, on the other hand, a political structure that constructs religious identity as an index of citizenship.

Article 18, paragraph 4, of the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), ratified by the Indonesian government in 2005, recognizes that the right of parents / guardians "to ensure the religious education and moral education for their children in accordance with their own beliefs." However, it is possible to determine the essential values transformed through a child's religious education in the guidelines of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which was ratified by the government in 1990.

According to Article 29 of the convention, a child's education should be directed to accomplish two things at once. First is the development of personality which leads to the strengthening of the internal values of the child's own culture. Points mentioned explicitly in the Covenant include a tribute to "cultural identity," "national values of the country in which the child resides" and "respect for parents." Second is preparing children to respect the culture ("nation," "ethnicity," "citizen," "religious group," "indigenous people") with a "spirit of mutual understanding," "peace," and "tolerance."

In the culture of Indonesian society, the determination of a child's religion is usually made by the child's parents or guardians. Intervention by parents and guardians in the religious education received by children either at home or at school is by no means prohibited by either the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights or the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In fact, it is recognized as the right of the parent or guardian. However, when religion becomes an index of students and religious education becomes a compulsory subject, fundamental issues of structural injustice can arise. What about the parents and guardians who prefer their children be educated with a (pluralistic) model of religious education that promotes the transcendental-humanist values of all religions? Are schools allowed to not conduct "conventional" religious education? What

about the children of "belief groups" (*penghayat kepercayaan*) whose civil rights are increasingly recognized by law? Are they still obliged to follow the religious education of one of the six officially recognized religions are generally offered in school?

Until now, the position of religious education as a compulsory subject has never been changed since it was established for the first time in 1966 through the People's Consultative Assembly Decree No. XXVII / MPRS / 1966. New regulations have followed to strengthen the obligation. Article 39, paragraph 2, of the National Education Law of 1989 identifies three kinds of content—Pancasila, religious, and civic education—as compulsory subjects for every kind and level of education. The Law 20 of 2003 on the National Education System (hereinafter referred to as the National Education Law 2003), Article 37, makes religious education as essential subject. In primary and secondary education, religious education is one part of the compulsory curriculum, in addition to nine other subjects. At the college level, religious education is a central subject in addition to civic education and Indonesian language. Article 35 of Law 12 of 2012 on Higher Education reaffirmed religious education as a compulsory subject for students.

Before debates began about how students must attend religious education taught by instructors from the same religion, there was a legislative process that eventually resulted in the Education Law of 2003. In fact, similar rules already existed in the Education Law of 1989. In the explanation of Article 28 refers to "religious education should be taught by teachers in accordance with their religion and learners' religions." Interestingly, "religious education in accordance with [each student's] religion and taught by educators who co-religionists" under Article 12 Education Law 2003, is now framed as a "right," not an obligation of students.

Would the law allow students or their parents agreed not to exercise their right and, for example, give authority to the school for choosing its model of religious education and constructing models of religious education innovation? The

question is important to raise because, in reality, there are some schools or colleges which have started to provide educational models of religiosity, the study of religions, religious ethics, and so on to replace conventional models of religious education.

Religious Education for "Belief Groups": New Demands

One factor missing from the debate on religious education and the 2013 curriculum is the still marginalized position of "belief groups" (*penghayat kepercayaan*). The section on "Rights to Religion and Civil Rights for Non-Officially Recognized Religions" in the CRCS 2009 *Annual Report on Religious Life in Indonesia* showed that some "belief groups" are still marginalized in terms of the fulfillment of their civil rights and experience discrimination in society. But the report also noted progress in case of marriage documentation after Government Regulation PP 37 of 2007 on the implementation of Law No. 23 of 2006 concerning the civil administration. The term "belief groups" (*penghayat kepercayaan*) is a technical term used in administration of residence rules for sects believing in the One God, those practicing spirituality, and other similar categories.

In the seven years since the legislation was passed, there has been no significant progress in terms of government policy beyond the issue of registration of marriages. What about the rights to religious education for children of these "belief groups"? From a political perspective, there has been no comprehensive recognition of their existence or civil rights. The issue religious education based on these groups' beliefs is only one example of the lack of development of civil rights for them. Up to now, religious education in schools only recognizes the rights of children from families of the six official religions recognized by law. Unfortunately, this issue is often drowned out in a public discussion, including at the time of the debates over the 2013 curriculum.

While students are required to select one of the six religions for religious education programs in school, this requirement does not extend to their registration documents. According to Law No. 23 of 2006 on Civil Administration, members of "belief

groups" may leave the space for religion on their identity cards blank. When the law was being revised in 2013, it was proposed that "belief groups" could fill in the column of religion/belief with the names of their groups, rather than just leaving the space blank, but the proposal was not approved. Instead, the response was that they should not even be able to leave the space blank but rather should list one of the six religions recognized by law. The concern was that an option to leave the space for religion on the national identity card (KTP) blank would encourage atheism and secularism, though the goal of this policy had been an effort to avoid coercing members of "belief groups" from having to list a religion they do not believe in. As a result, in the end there were no changes made by Law 24 of 2013 on the Amendment of Act No. 23 of 2006 concerning Civil Administration: "belief groups" are still able to leave the space for religion in their identity cards blank. Efforts to review the policy of "belief groups" leaving religion blank on identification showed that their position and the fulfillment of their rights remain tenuous.

Protests about the right to religious education voiced by some members of these "belief groups" must be understood in this context. The demand was strongly articulated by, for example, the Association of Belief Groups (Himpunan Penghayat Kepercayaan or HPK), the organization which supports the spread of "belief groups," which organized a dialogue on "The Fulfillment of Civil Society Rights for Belief Groups that Believe in the One God Almighty" in Surakarta (Solo) on November 27th -29th, 2013.

The activities facilitated by the Directorate General of Culture of the Ministry of Education and Culture served to formulate several issues, namely: (a) in general students from "belief groups" still experience discrimination. They do not have appropriate choices of religious education of their belief and/or are forced to choose what is not appropriate for them; (b) Therefore, the government is urged to issue a policy or rule to fill the legal vacuum in the Education Law 2003 on religious education in schools for these "belief groups"; (c) recommendations were given for detailed models of religious

education in the school curriculum for "belief groups" consisting of "objectives," "materials," "methods," and "plans for assessment."

Nevertheless, we argue that the Association of Belief Groups (HPK) should also be aware of the flaws in the concept of religious education in Indonesia in general. On one hand, the drafting of religious education curriculum specifically for "belief groups" can be seen as a way out of the discrimination that affecting children of these "belief groups," but, on the other hand, it could be a trap. Since some Islamic and Christian curricula tend to homogenize internal diversity within these religions, it might also simplify the diversity among these groups' beliefs. In the case of Islam, we can imagine the children of Ahmadiyya and Shi'a believers can be very dispirited and confused when attending the religious education classes in public schools which force them to learn and believe in mainstream Islamic theology as developed in Indonesia though it is absolutely different from what is taught by their parents and religious institutions. The same must also occur among children of Adventists in Christian religious education classes.

So, rather than this issue being of no more significance than adding religious education curricula for "belief groups," the problem is religious education in public schools must be able transcend the dogma of particular groups within a religion. More than that, ideally, religious education in public schools should offer multi-religious perspectives. Unfortunately, the examples of such curricula are still rare, especially among curricula developed by the government. Apart from these issues, the state should protect children of "belief groups" from coercion to participate in religious education for one of the six official religions, as continues to happen during this time.

Part III

CURRICULUM CHANGE AGAIN: WHAT'S NEW IN THE 2013 CURRICULUM?

In this country, the educational curriculum has changed often, perhaps too often. For ordinary people, there is a sort of unwritten adage: whenever the regime changes, policy changes; change officials and curriculum changes too. With the passing of the 2013 curriculum has come a rather pessimistic view among the public regarding this era of the 2013 curriculum. There is also the murmuring coming from some educators, particularly from eastern Indonesia, that, after a few years, they have now just begun to understand the previous curriculum, the Education Unit Level Curriculum (KTSP), and, that, ironically, by the time they'd begun to understand the curriculum, it changed.

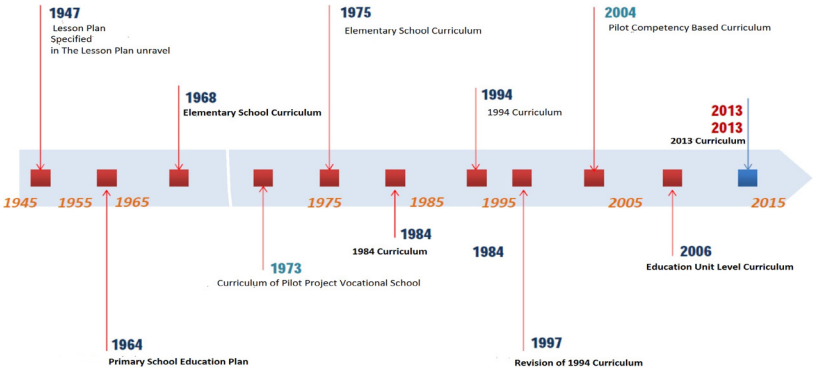
Currently, there are doubts among the people as to whether the 2013 curriculum will last a long time or whether, like the previous curriculum, it will perhaps not last long. If that happens, then preparations that have already been done and have yet to be done for the implementation of the 2013 curriculum will be in vain. Meanwhile, the government argues that the Education Unit Level Curriculum (KTSP) is no longer relevant for the advancement of the era.

In the history of curriculum development of the national education, the first curriculum set by the government, the so-called "Leer Plan" (Lesson Plan/ Rencana Pembelajaran), was presented in 1947, two years after independence. This curriculum emphasized the establishment of an independent, sovereign human character equal with that of other nations. However, the 1947 lesson plan was implemented effectively in schools by 1950. Assegaf (2005) concludes that by 1950 the history of curriculum

implementation had begun. The 1947 Lesson Plan contained two main aspects: a list of subjects and hours of instruction, as well as teaching outlines. It focused on character education, consciousness of state and society, instructional materials about everyday life, and attention to the development of the arts and physical education.

The 1964 Education Plan, also known as the 1964 curriculum, was set at the end of the era of President Sukarno. Its focus was on the development of creativity, sense, intention, work, and morals, known as Pancawardhana. Subjects were classified into five categories based on the 1964 Plan: morality, intelligence (cognitive), emotional / artistic awareness, skills, and physical education (Hamalik 2004). Four years later, the Government implemented the 1968 curriculum, which was a revision of the 1964 curriculum. There were changes in the structure of the curriculum from Pancawardhana to the establishment of the spirit of Pancasila, basic knowledge, and specialized skills. In terms of educational objectives, the 1968 curriculum confirmed that the emphasis of education was to build true followers of Pancasila, strong and with healthy body, and to enhance intelligence and physical skills, morals, manners, and religious beliefs. Educational content was aimed at enhancing intelligence and skills and developing healthy and strong bodies.

Curriculum Development in Indonesia



(Source: Ministry of Education and Culture 2012, "Public Testing Materials of the 2013 Curriculum")

The 1975 Curriculum, which replaced the 1968 curriculum, placed greater emphasis on the fulfillment of the goal of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of education. Its methods, materials, and teaching objectives were elaborated in an "Instructional System Development Procedure," or what is now known as learning unit. Each unit contains general objectives, specific instructional objectives (*tujuan instruksional khusus* / TIK), instructional materials, teaching aids, teaching and learning activities, and evaluation. Stressing a "process skills approach," the 1984 curriculum is often called an "enhanced 1975 Curriculum." The student's position was also considered as a subject of study. The model it used was the "Student Active Learning" (SAL) (Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif / CBSA). According to Hussein (2005), the theoretical concept of SAL was sound and, moreover, results of testing in schools provided promising expectations. However, many parts were changed or left out when it was applied nationally. Many schools were not able to interpret the SAL method. Yet another new curriculum was released in 1994 as an attempt to integrate the preceding 1975 and 1984 curricula. Several problems arose during the implementation of the 1994 curriculum, primarily resulting from its "content-oriented" inclination, which was too strong.

Was the Decentralized "Education Unit Level Curriculum" a Failure?

The 2013 Curriculum has been considered by some to be a (failure of a) response to the implementation of Education Unit Level Curriculum (KTSP). The curriculum which went into effect in 2006 was actually not much different from the curriculum before it, the Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK) of 2004. Two years was actually too short a period to enact curriculum change at the national level. Because there was no fundamental difference between the KTSP and KBK curricula, discussion of one is discussion of the other. The KTSP curriculum could be understood as the development and direct implementation of the KBK curriculum at the level of educational unit (the school). It meant that in practice schools could design their own curriculum in the form of a syllabus by making the teachers the

main actors since they are the ones who organize and carry it out. At the same time, the KTSP curriculum syllabus was based on content standards and competency standards for passing grades set by the government.

Legally, the KTSP curriculum was designed in response to the Education Law of 2003 and reinforced by PP 19 of 2005 of the National Education Standards. Implementation of KTSP in schools started in 2007/2008 academic year after the publication of Ministry of Education and Culture Regulations Nos. 22 and 23 of 2006, as well as KTSP Development Guide issued by the National Education Standards Agency (BSNP). As described in the previous section, the basic differences between the KTSP and the previous curriculum were in the independence given to schools to design curriculum. Through the KTSP curriculum, the government encouraged school autonomy in implementing education as well as calling on each school administration to increase creativity in education programs. In the KTSP, the Government merely set a basic framework and structure for the curriculum, while leaving a very broad space for each school to develop instructional materials in accordance with the needs of students. Thus, it is said that the basic idea of the KTSP curriculum was to develop a decentralized system of education through the provision of extensive autonomy for schools in curriculum development. The basic principle adopted in the KTSP system was that each school was understood to know more about its condition as an educational unit.

The independence provided by the KTSP curriculum was an opportunity for educational units to create new breakthroughs that could support the process of teaching and learning in schools. It enabled each school to focus and develop specific instructional materials as most needed by its students. Unfortunately, the spirit of decentralization, independence, and respect for the local context are no longer to be found in the shift to the new 2013 curriculum. The Ministry of Education and Culture prefers "replacement" to "perfection" of the existing curriculum. Because it failed to improve Indonesia's international

ranking or to instill character in students, the KTSP curriculum was replaced.

Reasons for the Implementation of the 2013 Curriculum

The government has decided on the implementation of the 2013 curriculum. What is the basis for it to change the KTSP curriculum to the 2013 curriculum? The Government has determined that the KTSP curriculum has many weaknesses. The draft of the 2013 curriculum development issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture curriculum explained that it would be a way out of such current issues as student fighting, drug use, corruption, plagiarism, cheating on exams, and social upheaval. In addition, there is the assumption that the KTSP is too focused on cognitive aspects, in which the burden on students is too heavy, and not enough on character building.

According to the government, there are three basic reasons why the 2013 curriculum is needed. Before going further, we must mention explicitly when we do not explain the government's position to express agreement with it but rather to know the reasoning underlying its 2013 Curriculum and Religious Education policies. Its three points are as follows.

First, the KTSP curriculum is regarded as giving too much autonomy to schools. The Government argues that school autonomy becomes problematic in relation to gaps in human resources as well as the uneven distribution of school facilities in this country. Many schools do not have the personnel and infrastructure adequate to implement the decentralization of education. The structure of KRSP curriculum implementation is still hampered by the lack of quality teachers and schools. Most teachers are unable to contribute thinking or creative ideas to develop the curriculum guide. Furthermore, according to the government's perspective, the availability of means that are complete and representative is one of the main requirements for the implementation of the KTSP. In reality, many educational units still lack even minimal equipment, laboratories and other supporting facilities. The KTSP curriculum allows teachers the flexibility to design their own syllabi, but the government finds a

discrepancy between the desire to create independent and creative teachers with the reluctance of teachers to be independent. One indicator of this failure has been the discovery of "copy-paste" practices among teachers in various schools. In this case, it can be justified. A workshop organized by CRCS also revealed the habit of teachers in some schools "copy-paste"-ing Lesson Plans (RPP) from other schools. In addition, CDs containing lesson plans also circulate widely so plans are easy to copy. This abuse is not in accordance with the original purposes of Ministry of Education and Culture which wanted to give authority to the teachers. If this is the case, why is not the question raised about how to correct these bad habits among teachers instead of leaping to the decision to replace the KTSP curriculum with the new one?

Based on the considerations above, the government revoked the autonomy of schools by re-establishing a centralized education system through the implementation of the 2013 curriculum. The role of the educational unit (including teachers and school administrators) is too limited. Their positions are now simply the executors of the rules and curriculum set by the government. The 2013 Curriculum not only sets the main points of each lesson in detail, but, more than that, the government also publishes textbooks (for both teachers and students) which are arranged accordingly, such that when a teacher follows consistently, it is difficult to improvise and very little space is left for creativity. As stated by Minister of Education and Culture as well as reported in the mass media, in the 2013 Curriculum, teachers are no longer required to prepare their own syllabi. The Ministry of Education and Culture provides teachers handbooks containing the syllabus, learning guidelines, and assessment methods. The reason is the effect of discrepancies among teachers' capacities for syllabus-making in the implementation of the previous KTSP curriculum. Of course, the idea has been welcomed by many (but not all) teachers who felt burdened by the added responsibilities. A critical question arises as to why there is no effort to remedy the weakness of many teachers in making syllabi by providing them with more intensive

trainings? The policy to make syllabi for teachers will only curb their initiative and impede motivation for them to develop their abilities. If this policy continues to be implemented, there will only be more teachers who do not show initiative and creativity. Therefore, there is concern that the centralization of educational curriculum may reduce creativity in the education unit. If this happens, then instead of achieving competitiveness with other nations through the 2013 curriculum, on the contrary, the quality of education will worsen and Indonesia will increasingly be left behind other countries.

Second, that the content of the KTSP curriculum is considered too burdensome is indicated by the number of subjects and materials in which the scope and degree of difficulty are beyond the level suitable for the development of the learners at that age. The KTSP curriculum is considered to stress cognitive aspects over the affective and psychomotor areas. Moreover, the government also considers social problems, such as fighting among students, violence, and corruption, as the failure of the KTSP curriculum. The government stipulates that the people are suffering from various social problems and, in order to respond to these problems, the 2013 curriculum adopts a thematic system which organizes each subject based on a specific theme. The curriculum puts forth a three-part solution to these problems: decrease the number of subjects, decrease the instructional materials, but, at the same time, add school hours. One subject removed is Computer and Information Technology. The reason is there are many areas in Indonesia with no electricity and the government does not want to burden schools which are unable to provide adequate facilities and infrastructure for this subject. However, the reduction in the number of subjects does not lead to a reduction in the number of lesson hours; instead the 2013 curriculum increases the number of lesson hours. The total for elementary students will increase from about 26 to 36 hours per week and from 32 to 38 hours per week for junior high school students. At the high school level, the numbers of hours are about the same, with no significant changes. Most subjects are cut down, but others are increased. For example, English

lessons are reduced from the original allocation of four hours to two while religious education is increased from two hours to four. There is an overall reduction in topics covered: according to the data we collected, the topics covered at the elementary level have been reduced by approximately 40 percent, while those at the junior - senior high school have decreased by about 20 percent.

The application of a thematic system in the 2013 curriculum demands that teachers have an excellent understanding of the curriculum. As we discovered in several meetings with teachers, although many teachers have attended trainings on the 2013 curriculum, they are still confused by it, especially in terms of understanding the thematic learning model. A survey by the office of the Minister of Supervision and Control (Mentri Bidang Pengawasan dan Pengendalian Pembangunan) in the Ministry of Education and Culture of 6326 schools implementing the curriculum at the end of 2013 showed that most of the teachers are still hesitant. They do not fully understand the forms and practices of thematic learning model which is still relatively new for them. (Kompas, 11.11.2013) Therefore, if the 2013 curriculum is put in place, teacher training will determine whether its implementation will succeed or not. The training is not only done for to make government regulation understood by the public, but also as an effort to prepare teachers to implement the system properly. Unless the government ensures that, the 2013 curriculum will not bring about significant changes to the education system.

We argue that changes in the curriculum process involving a change in the classroom practice should also actively involve the participation of teachers. Teachers must be one essential consideration even before the process of curriculum developments itself. Training done just to promote new curriculum without including practical classroom learning patterns will be the greatest obstacle of achieving the goal of curriculum change.

Third, the KTSP curriculum is considered not entirely based on competency as the function and purpose of national

education. The competency outlined by the KTSP curriculum has not yet fulfilled the essential elements in education including attitude, skills, and knowledge. Some of the competencies required in accordance with the development of needs (such as character education, active learning methods, the balance of soft skills and hard skills, and entrepreneurship) have not yet been accommodated in the KTSP curriculum. Moreover, the learning process standard of the KTSP is presumed to not yet describe the detailed learning sequence so that it allows for the opportunity to make diverse interpretations resulting in teacher-centered learning.

Thus, the 2013 Curriculum introduced the concept of core competences (KI) and basic competence (KD). There are four core competences: spiritual competence (KI-1), social competence (KI-2), knowledge competence (KI-3) and skills competence (KI-4). The curriculum 2013 requires that basic competence (KD) in all subjects should be oriented to the formation of the four core competences (KI). All subjects must contribute to the formation of attitudes, knowledge, and skills. For example, the spiritual and social components must be met by all subjects, not just religious education.

Issues related to the 2013 Curriculum

We argue that there are three fundamental issues in the 2013 Curriculum related to religious education and character building: the basic assumption of spiritual and social competencies as part of the achievement of competitiveness, the enthusiasm for religiosity as knowledge, and the moral responsibility of incorporating values into every subject.

Do Spiritual and Social Competence Affect Competitiveness?

Spiritual Competence (KI-1) and Social Competence (KI-2) are two of the four core competencies introduced in the 2013 curriculum to be implemented in all subjects and expected to contribute to the development of attitude and character in students. With the two core competencies, every teacher is expected to reflect the spiritual and social aspects of each

topic taught. The establishment of KI-1 and KI-2 started from the assumption that moral degradation has occurred among Indonesian youth and students in general. Some examples often used to show moral degradation among students include the use of illegal drugs or the popularity among students of entertainments that could be categorized as pornography. The public evaluation of the 2013 curriculum concluded that the majority of the public want character building to be strengthened through religious education and see the policy of adding hours to religious education under the 2013 curriculum as an answer to the problem of moral degradation. Religious education has been increased from three hours a week in grades 4-6 under the KTSP curriculum to four hours weekly for grades 1-6 in the 2013 curriculum. At the junior high level, the previous time allotment of two hours a week for grades 7-9 has been expanded to three hours for each grade in the 2013 curriculum. The religious element in the new 2013 curriculum not only involves the addition of instructional hours, but has also become one of the sources of values for two of the four core competencies in all subjects as described above.

The questions asked now is whether the effort to formulate the core competencies will be able to improve the competitiveness of Indonesian students? Is the intensity of religious education an answer to the further decline of the quality of education in Indonesia generally? It is imperative for citizens who take responsibility for the future of education in Indonesia to be critical of any solutions that seem to offer a complete answer to the problem of the low quality of education in Indonesia.

The problem of poor quality of education in Indonesia emerged as one consideration in the public evaluation of the 2013 Curriculum arranged by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemdikbud). It is certain that the quality of education in Indonesia is low. International rankings of elementary and secondary education in Indonesia have shown unsatisfactory results. Results of international studies which record the abilities and skills of elementary and high school students in terms of reading, math and science are available in the TIMSS (Trends

in International Mathematics and Science Study) and PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study) reports issued by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IAE). PIRLS measures the knowledge and skills of fourth graders in reading comprehension, while TIMSS measures the knowledge and skills of junior high school students in the eighth grade in Mathematics and Science. Besides TIMSS and PIRLS, there is another international survey, the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), which is conducted to scrutinize student achievement in the areas of reading comprehension, mathematics and science. PISA is an international survey program developed by the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development).

The following section specifically discusses the PIRLS, TIMSS and PISA to examine the ranking position of Indonesia according to the three standards. The scores used by both TIMSS and PIRLS are on a scale 1-1000, though the achievements of students are typically in the 300-700 range. Both TIMSS and PIRLS set 500 as the mean that serves as a reference for exploring the distribution of the achievement scores of students from each country. TIMSS and PIRLS exams besides attended by participants representing their country, there is also a benchmarking of a subset of certain countries.

A more detailed explanation of Indonesia's ranking is necessary. In 2011, there were 52 countries participating in requiring the exam for the fourth grade students and 45 countries participating in the category of Junior High School class VIII. Indonesia took part only in the latter category. In science, Indonesia ranked 40th with a score of 406, which was below the mean score of TIMSS, while, in mathematics, Indonesia was ranked 38th with a score of 386, also below the mean TIMSS score. Thus, according to the results of the 2011 TIMSS for both science and mathematics, Indonesia was among the lowest ranked participants in the survey, while the scores of some other Asian countries such as Japan, Singapore and South Korea were above the mean score calculated by TIMSS. In 2011, Indonesia also participated in PIRLS test which measures the

reading ability of students in the fourth grade, ranking 42nd out of 49 participating countries with an average score of 428, which was below the mean. In the PISA 2012 survey, followed by 65 participating countries, Indonesia ranked 64th in math and reading, out of 65 participating countries, and ranked 65th out of 65 in science. Indonesia's position is far behind not only internationally but also among Asian countries. The results of these surveys also show the consistency of students from such Asian countries such as Singapore, China, South Korea, Japan and Hong Kong across the three different standards intended for students of primary and secondary schools.

The materials of the public evaluation of the 2013 Curriculum 2013 include excerpts of PIRLS and TIMSS survey results which show the ranking of Indonesia's achievement as well as clarification from the Minister of Education and Culture about the causes of backwardness. According to these materials, the way mathematics is taught in Indonesia is different from the way it is taught at the international level. Meanwhile, in science, not all of the materials which are listed in the science curriculum in Indonesia are taught to students. This is likely related to the teachers' teaching ability: they teach what they understand and skip over what they feel less comfortable with. Yet, according to the TIMSS report in 2011, it turns out schools in Indonesia do teach 19 of the 20 science topics comprising the TIMSS standard (see Public Testing Curriculum Document 2013). It means the prevailing curriculum in Indonesia until 2011 including almost all the science topics which are used as a standard by TIMSS. The curriculum in Japan only contains 17 topics, 14 topics in Singapore and South Korea 13 topics. Nevertheless the TIMSS results in science shows that the average scores achieved by students from these countries is much higher than the average scores achieved by students from Indonesia.

The resources collected in the public evaluation of the 2013 Curriculum also show that the average hours of study in Indonesian public school for ages 7-14 years are 15 percent lower than the average of OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) students of the same age.

The OECD standard allots 5 hours for math, 4.5 hours for science, and 6 hours for language, but the KTSP curriculum of 2006 allocates 4 hours each for mathematics, science and language. The appearance of the PIRLS, TIMSS and OECD test and survey results as material for consideration in the public evaluation of the 2013 Curriculum make it quite clear that the 2013 curriculum is intended to respond to the weak level of Indonesian students' competition at the international level. One thing that can be directly observed in the 2013 curriculum is the addition of instructional hours in the structure of the curriculum at the elementary and junior high levels. Instructional hours have been added not only to the subjects of mathematics, science, and language, which are tested in international surveys, but also to other subjects, including religious and moral education as well as on Pancasila and civic education.

There are several points worth noting from these observations of the 2013 curriculum. The additional instructional hours and the obligation to incorporate spiritual and social attitudes in all subjects have added greatly to student's workload while also endangering students' creativity and intellectual potential for critical thinking about the spiritual and social values which are considered as the measure of truth in each subject taught. In addition, because the draft of curriculum has been prepared in such detail, including standardized questions for students and guides for teachers, there is cause for concern it will jeopardize teacher and student creativity. Students should have ample opportunity to develop their creativity by forming the questions themselves and then trying to find or anticipate solutions to new problems that arise. With the new curriculum system, such opportunities seem to be more restricted.

Enthusiasm for Religiosity as Knowledge

The 2013 curriculum makes clear that religion has a central role in education. The role of religion in the education sphere that was mandated by the National Education Law No. 20/2003 is increasingly emphasized in the implementation of the 2013 curriculum. A study of the process of enactment of the National

Education Law No. 20/2003 shows the strong intention of the government and House of Representatives (DPR) to incorporate religious values into the national education system (Joseph 2013). The spirit of Article 3 of the Law and Regulation (P.P.) 17 of 2010 on the Management and Operation of Education calls on the government to operate under the principle that "Education aims to build a foundation for the development of students' potentials for becoming people of faith and the fear of God Almighty, of high morals and good character."

As noted above, the 2013 Curriculum introduces two new ideas: core competences (KI) and basic competences (KD). Each subject taught in school must support the development of all the competences (attitudes [spiritual and social], knowledge, and skills) and related subjects and possess a basic competence supported by the core competences. Furthermore, KI is an elaboration from the passing of Competence Standards for Promotion (SKL) that must be possessed by those who have completed a particular educational unit. In the 2013 curriculum, the four KI are the measure of the fundamental competencies that should be developed in each course in an integrated way.

Despite the intentions of the team drafting the 2013 curriculum to instill in-depth knowledge and good character into graduates, it seems that the formulation of the core competence and the basic competences in the 2013 curriculum pays less attention to the particularities of each subject and how they may not always be able to be integrated. This assumption is seen in other findings about the formulation of basic competence requirements for subjects that may be somewhat similar and those that are clearly different. In other words, it seems that the basic aptitudes related to the spiritual and social competences are being enforced in the formulation of all subjects taught in school. For example, one basic competency stated in the "Exponents and Logarithms" section in the mathematics textbook[1] for class X of public and Islamic senior high schools is that students must be taught to "comprehend fully the disciplined, critical, responsible,

1 See: Matematika SMA/MA Kelas X. Jakarta: Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2013.

consistent, and honest way of life and apply these values in their everyday lives."

The "Trigonometry" chapter in the same textbook states that students are expected to have appropriate knowledge of the subject matter according to the Basic Competences, namely: (1) to comprehend fully the disciplined, critical, responsible, consistent and honest way of life and apply these values in their daily lives; (2) to understand fully the awareness of rights and obligations as well as tolerance to differences in pluralistic society as an application of the values of mathematics; (3) demonstrate fully self-confidence, internal motivation and an attitude of care for the environment in human activities, business, and everyday life. As a general overview, trigonometry is a component of computational geometry, one of the branches of the mathematical sciences. Several mathematical functions commonly used in trigonometric computations are sine, cosine, tangent, and cotangent. These mathematical functions are used to calculate distances based on the measurement of angles and sides of right triangles. In everyday life, the applications of trigonometry are generally used, for example, to calculate the height of towers or mountains and the distance of celestial objects as well as other applications in architecture. Thus, it does not make sense to ask whether a mathematics teacher should be able to connect trigonometry with these questions defined as basic competencies for the teaching of trigonometry. This problem will be the same for teachers of exponents and logarithms and of other topics in math and science.

The example from a Class X public and Islamic senior high school mathematics textbook suggests how difficult it can be to be a math teacher who is pushed to raise the moral elements in topics that have their own specific logic. How is a teacher of mathematics to seek, find and explain precisely the relationship between exponents and logarithms and discipline, critical thinking, responsibility, consistency, and honesty? How are teachers who are teaching trigonometry to likewise seek, find and explain to their students the relationships between

trigonometry and these values as well as awareness of rights, obligations, tolerance, confidence, and environmental care?

Further investigation into the basic competences (KD) in the tenth-grade math textbook shows that the organization of basic competences is often not specifically relevant to the subject matter and often the same formulations are applied to many topics. For example, in the tenth-grade textbook, certain KD formulations appear randomly in some chapters and not in the others: The basic competence about the disciplined, critical, responsible, consistent and honest way of life appears in Chapter I (Exponents and Logarithms), Chapter II (Linear Equations and Inequality), Chapter IV (Matrices), Chapter V (Relations and Functions), Chapter VI (Lines and Rows), Chapter VII (Equations and the Quadratic Function), Chapter VIII (Trigonometry), Chapter X (Limits and Functions), Chapter XI (Statistics), and Chapter XI (Probability), but not in Chapter III (Systems of Equations and Linear Inequality) or Chapter IX (Geometry). This raises new questions, such as, what is the underlying formulation of KD in any particular topic? Or, why is the matter of rights and tolerance a teaching goal in the topic of Matrices, Trigonometry, and Statistics and not in others? Or, if going back to the more fundamental question, why is it necessary to include KD in these topics at all?

Our examination of this tenth-grade mathematics textbook provides a general overview of a common pattern in the formulation of the basic competences in other subjects. Criticism of the enthusiasm of religiosity as knowledge has actually already been conveyed by some social organizations long before the 2013 curriculum: one example was an open discussion with experts held in March 2013 by the Council of Professors at Bandung Technology Institute.

Moral Responsibilities and Values

Another issue related to the 2013 curriculum is the process of the transfer of values. We perceive two consequences that will arise from having non-religious education teachers incorporate spiritual aspects (KI-1) and social aspects (KI-2) into the

assessment of their courses. First, there will be a shift in the role of teachers of non-religious subjects. The 2013 Curriculum places an extra burden on non-religious education teachers to be role models. While the KTSP curriculum emphasized the role of the teacher as an example only for religious education teachers, the 2013 curriculum requires every teacher to be an example and to transform the spiritual and social values of the students. If it is implemented, there is the possibility of the blurring of scientific aspects of education with religious values. When a teacher explains issues related to the natural sciences or mathematics in this way, it will be inconsistent with scientific values, at least for some subjects, which are distinct from religious and moral issues. Here we assume there is a need to make a clear line of demarcation between scientific values and religious issues and religious identity. It is clear that this is one of the main points missed in the formulation of the 2013 curriculum and will likely lead to new problems in its implementation in relation to the ways of moral values are likely to be forcibly integrated into science through KI and KD. If this really happens, then Indonesia will no longer be on the road to progress, but rather merely shifting a state of backwardness which is assumed to be the result of moral degradation (a question still subject to debate) to the another extreme condition of imposed morality, where all subjects taught in schools are expected to convey moral values. Moral values can be derived from many places. One of the biggest contributors is religion. No wonder then that not only are there concerns that the imposition of spiritual competence requirements in all areas of science taught in schools may force moral conditions onto science but also there are concerns that this is an attempt to put all knowledge within a religious framework. If this indeed the case, then we are actually taking a step backwards.

Second, issues concerning the comprehension of values understanding tend to be focused on teachers. The requirement to insert spiritual and social aspects into each subject generates a problem when we recognize the reality of the diversity of teachers' understandings of spiritual and social values. The 2013 Curriculum presupposes that the understanding of the spiritual

and social values should be adjusted to the understandings of teachers. This can be problematic, since teachers and students have different religious and social backgrounds. It may be simpler to convey values in schools which have homogeneous student populations (both in terms of religion or socio-economic backgrounds), such as religious schools, but in public schools, where not only teachers but also the students come from diverse social and religious backgrounds, a single definition of spiritual and social values cannot but be problematic. How should values be interpreted? How can an issue or question be considered in accordance with appropriate values? What indicators can be used?

Part IV

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE 2013 CURRICULUM

A change in religious education under the 2013 curriculum has placed character as an integral part of religious education. Religious education in the 2013 curriculum is termed "Religious and Character Education." Unfortunately, we have been unable to find the main reason for the inclusion of "character" (*budi pekerti*) in religious education. However, from the discussion that has been presented in chapter 3, it appears there is a very strong desire on the part of the authors of the 2013 Curriculum to include aspects of ethics and moral conduct.[1] The question that arises is of what type of the character is intended by the authors of the religious education curriculum? At some schools that already implement character education, such as the Taman Siswa School, character education refers to a recovery of local culture (*i.e.*, customs and traditions). However, the 2013 Curriculum makes religious values as a standard for character. This suggests another role of religion. In the discussion above, religion was the foundation of knowledge. In religious education, religious values became the foundation of ethics and students' behavior.

In this section, we attempt to explain religious and character education as laid out in the 2013 Curriculum. We limit the discussion to religious education for Protestant Christianity,

1 The Encyclopedia of Education defines character (*budi pekerti*) as the attitudes and behaviors of an individual's daily life, of families, communities and nations that contains values applied and adopted in the form of identity, unity and integrity, and future sustainability in a moral system, and guides human behavior.

Catholicism, and Islam and to the manuals published by Electronic School Books (BSE) of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Our focus is on scrutinizing the content of religious education in grades IV, VIII, and X, because at the time of this research, the manuals were available only for these three classes as trial examples provided by the Ministry in 2013 of religious and character education under the new 2013 Curriculum. As explained in introduction to this report, we highlight critical aspects and here we specifically highlight three issues.

Too Much Content about Doctrine

Within the official category of Protestant Christianity in Indonesia are a number of different streams and denominations, including Pentecostals, Evangelicals, Baptists, the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Salvation Army, and the Orthodox, each with its own set of doctrines and beliefs. This diversity is a challenge in formulating models for Christian Religious Education (Pendidikan Agama Kristen). As a way out of the problem, the approach taken in curriculum development is to "emphasize ethics over dogma." (Poerwowidagdo 2002: 55-65). By this approach, Christian Religious Education stresses the enrichment of Christian values which are intended to be able to transform learners in their relationships with God, other people and their surroundings, while teaching doctrine, more specifically, is the responsibility of each church. According to the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (PGI), each institution of the church has the autonomous responsibility to teach church doctrine to its followers while schools are responsible for Christian Religious and Character Education which promotes the introduction of ethical principles and their application in the everyday lives of the students. There are two purposes for Christian Religious and Character Education at the elementary, junior high and senior high school levels: (1) to nurture human beings who can understand the love of God in Jesus Christ and love God and love others; (2) to nurture Indonesian citizens who are able to live their faith in a responsible manner with noble characters in a pluralistic society.[2]

2 See: Pendidikan Agama Kristen dan Budi Pekerti. SMP Kelas VII. Jakarta: Kementrian

The emphasis on ethics and the effort to transcend denominational differences do not mean abandoning the theology or doctrine. This can be seen from the topics in the educational materials for grades IV and VII. Examples of topics for the fourth grade are: God has power over human life; God is faithful to help us; Amos, an ordinary man chosen by the Lord; God is my strength; why rely on God?; Jesus truly heals; a life of gratitude; the Lord protects us; and a life of surrender to God.[3] Topics for grade VII include: forgiveness, baptism, sin and repentance, care for nature, building solidarity, right decisions, humility, discipline and the practice of Christian values in one's life.[4] It appears from these materials that the topics for the fourth grade are more focused on the recognition of the Lord and human dependence on God, while, in the seventh grade, students reflect on understanding of their faith in relation to nature and each other.

The four aspects of Catholic Religious and Character Education, as seen in the teacher's and student's books for grades IV and VIII, are individual learners, Jesus Christ, society and the Church. Each aspect is then divided into more detailed sub-themes. The topic of individual learners comprises self-understanding as men and women with capabilities and limitations, strengths and weaknesses in relationships with each other and the environment. The topic Jesus Christ includes discussion of how to emulate Jesus Christ and proclaim God the Father and the Kingdom of God, as revealed in the Old and New Testaments. The Church encompass discussion on the meaning of the Church and how to realize its life in the realities of everyday life while society deals with living together in society in accordance with Word of God and the teachings of Jesus and of the Church.[5]

Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2013, p. 11

3 See: Pendidikan Agama Kristen dan Budi Pekerti, SD Kelas IV. Jakarta: Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2013.

4 See: Pendidikan Agama Kristen dan Budi Pekerti, SMP Kelas VII. Jakarta: Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2013.

5 See: Pendidikan Agama Katolik dan Budi Pekerti, SMP Kelas VII. Jakarta: Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2013, p.3.

Turning to Islamic Religious Education, we observe that the 2013 Islamic education curriculum contains many new materials when compared with KTSP curriculum. Particularly in grade X, the new materials accentuate the affirmation of Islamic identity through (a) the need to cling to the Qur'an, *hadith* and *ijtihad* as sources of Islamic law, (b) the regulation of dress, and (c) the revitalization of missionary endeavors (*dakwah*).[6] These three topics above are not found in the KTSP. The KTSP curriculum only explains the sources of Islamic law but, in the 2013 curriculum, the sources of Islamic law are limited only three: the Qur'an, *hadith* and *ijtihad* of previous scholars. Such limitation reduces and makes superficial the richness of Islamic thought, leading to exclusivism and stagnation of thinking as well as the rejection of new interpretations and the renewal of the teaching of Islam in response to contemporary issues.

In addition, the 2013 Curriculum also regulates behavior, especially with regard to Islamic clothing in everyday life. Given the detail of the 2013 Curriculum and how little space it leaves for the possibility of the differences in interpretation, it is no surprise that it offers no freedom for dissent within Islam about how to dress, especially regarding the limits of what must be covered. Associated with the revitalization of *dakwah* (missionary endeavor), the 2013 Curriculum confirms the nature of Islam as a religion of the mission. The material on *dakwah* in the KTSP curriculum was only concerned with the history of the preaching of the Prophet Muhammad during the Medina and Mecca periods, while the 2013 curriculum has more discussion on how it should be done in the contemporary context.

Lack of Reflection on or Spirit of Respect for Diversity

Considering the diversity of Indonesian society, it is essential for religious education to cultivate an attitude of appreciation for differences without marginalizing the strengthening of each believer's commitment to his or her own religion. As indicated in the teacher and student books, Catholic Religious and Character

6 See: Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Budi Pekerti SMA/MA Kelas X. Jakarta: Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2013.

Education offers space for the expression of thoughts, opinions and reflections of participants. For example, students were asked to express their views and reflections on each topic. In terms of curriculum development, the National Council on Catholic Education (MNPK) is responsible for assessing which model is appropriate for Catholic educational institutions in Indonesia. The model used is the Reflective Pedagogical Paradigm (PPR), which generally contains three integrated elements of "experience," "reflection" and "action." Put differently, the approach used in Catholic education contains three processes of understanding, struggle in light of the teachings of Scripture and the Church, and the renewal of life embodied in the comprehension of faith in everyday life. The central element in this way of thinking is "reflection" which can be interpreted as examining study materials, experiences, ideas, origins and spontaneous reactions to reach the deeper meaning (Kanisius Editorial Team 2012). As explained in the teacher's manual and students' textbooks, Catholic education is directed as forming a living Christian faith while respecting other religions in relation to inter-religious harmony in society in order to achieve national unity. A lesson on social relations in society includes a section concerning "Church Views on Life in Society," which refers to the documents of the Second Vatican Council. Articles 25 and 11 of Vatican II provide guidance for relationships with others through dialogue and respect. Furthermore the passage cited states "...and because, for human beings, social life is not merely supplementary, each person grows in his or her innate talents through association with others and through dialogue with fellow human beings, and is thus able to respond to his or her own vocation." From another passage comes the statement "... let each person join with others with appreciation and love, realize themselves as members of society in their surroundings, and participate in cultural and social life through various ways of human life and activities ..."[7]

7 See: Pendidikan Agama Katolik dan Budi Pekerti. SMP Kelas VII. Jakarta: Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2013, p. 68.

Similar approaches which reflect spiritual and social values in the teaching of religious education can be found in the Christian religious education materials prepared for the 2013 curriculum. In grade VII, for example, students are expected to develop empathy and solidarity among human beings and to explore the values contained in Christian teachings that can be applied in daily life. Moreover, in grade X, students are required to practice humility according to the example of Jesus and to realize Christian values in social life.

Islamic Religious and Character Education materials also contain aspects of attitude development such as respect for religious differences; for example, the curriculum of grade VII asks students "to have an attitude of courtesy and to respect others, at home, at school, and in local community." However, it is still lacking in providing for the development of an open, inclusive attitude. We recognize that this might not be the result of an exclusivism which meant to transform students, but rather because of intense demands to memorize Quranic verses and understand the practice of worship. This situation is a weak reflection of the values contained in Islam itself. Islamic Education tends to stress on the mastery of religious teachings and marginalize the aspects of reflection which should be very important for students. With a limited number of lessons, the burden of memorizing Quranic verses and exploring religious practices take too much time and shift the importance of transforming spiritual values to students.

We think such a curriculum model can lead in turn to the problem of the failure of achieving the fundamental objectives of religious education. Ideally, the 2013 Curriculum expects the achievement of the spiritual, social, knowledge, and skills aspects. Nevertheless, according to us, the Islamic education models outlined in the 2013 curriculum can hardly be expected to attain the expectations of transferring spiritual and social values. Religious education in schools should emphasize the transfer of values rooted in religion. According to Yusuf (2014), religious education should be closely related to the development of character and religious identity. Religion is not simply a

collection of memorized dogma. This is the case not only for Islam, but also for other religions. Religious education should be reflective, by providing freedom for students to reflect on and internalize values that respects differences, in accordance with the needs of Indonesia's pluralistic society.

The problem analysis method is widely known in the education sphere and usually includes three aspects of education: cognitive, affective and psychomotor (or attitude). From perspective of the cognitive aspect, a dogmatic religious education model which excludes the possibility of reflection makes it difficult to nurture students who *understand* their own religion. The ability to "understand" should be differentiated from the ability to "memorize." Students who memorize doctrine do not necessarily understand what they have memorized because the ability to understand is far more complex than memorization. Understanding also requires students to be able to connect between aspects of subjects they study. It also means the students are expected to understand the philosophical bases which becomes the foundations of the system of instruction. Students must know what they learn, how they should address the subject matter, and how the learning outcomes can shape their daily lives.

From the perspective of the affective aspect, religious education should aim to make students more interested in studying religion. Religious education should stimulate students' desire to know and make them interested in learning about their own religion. Research conducted by Yusuf (2014) shows that, compared with Christian and Hindu students, Muslim students have less interest in studying religion. Not only are the Islamic teaching methods considered boring by students, but the curriculum of Islamic education is monotonous and provides them less autonomy to reflect. This tendency has also been noted by another study conducted by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Jakarta (2012). PPIM's research shows that students in Jakarta and Tangerang also find the subject of Islamic education uninteresting and boring.

The third important aspect is the development of attitudes. Students are expected to behave in line with the teachings of their religion. Attitudes are best formed through a continuous and consistent process of habituation. In addition, the achievement of cognitive and affective aspects is also a prerequisite for attitude formation. When religious education is not able to achieve the development of a good cognitive appreciation and fails to stimulate student interest in the religious education, it is then difficult to expect that students will have attitudes that are consistent with the values and teachings of their religions.

Limited Interfaith Interaction

Catholic religious education in the 2013 Curriculum strongly emphasizes the spirit of openness to other faiths. For example, in grade VII, students are required to learn about equality between men and women in daily life and to appreciate the role of their peers in personal development. Moreover, in grade X, students are called on to respect their fellow human beings as created in the image of God and as brothers and sisters, as well as to develop a critical and responsible attitude to the influence of the mass media, ideology and other lifestyles. Here it seems clear that the Catholic religious education attempts to make the transformation of value systems happen, because it does more than just stress students' ability to memorize texts and worship. The spiritual values of Catholic religious instruction have been developed so that the students understand values and put them into practice in their daily lives.

The religious education curricula for both Catholics and Christians includes appreciation of other religions in their educational goals as a symbol of sensitivity to the diversity of Indonesian society. It is important, especially in the public school environment, students are always in the process of interaction with others from different social status and religious backgrounds. Nevertheless, the implementation of this commendable religious education goal remains to be tested. Curriculum implementation requires teachers who are not only knowledgeable, but also have an open personality in guiding

their students to achieve this goal.

The material of Islamic religious education also emphasizes attitude development. For example, in grade IV, students are expected to develop an attitude of perseverance through understanding the story of Prophet Moses and consuming *halal* and nutritious food and beverages in everyday life. However, almost all materials for Islamic education are *inward*-oriented and limited in the direction of understanding religious diversity. In some workshops with religious teachers, we found that one reason frequently given was time constraints. Consequently, the priority for Islamic education is solely directed internally. In the context of the life of the national, an adequate place for the establishment of inter-religious relations becomes a necessity. In the context of a pluralistic society, many studies have shown that the models of religious instruction focus more and more internally on the religion itself and increasingly close off the space for the establishment of communication between people of different religions. Religious education which rigidly obstructs diversity can contribute to the construction of attitudes of suspicion towards those who are different.

Analysis from psychology of religion explains that attitudes of suspicion is usually stem from the rejection of difference and the assumption that one's own religious groups is the most true. Students who learn about religion dogmatically usually have problems in recognizing diversity and the existence of other religions. Students' inability to identify the teachings of other religions leads to generalizations, which ultimately creates stereotypes about other groups. When this happens, there will usually be problems related to the appreciation of diversity in the context of the nation and society. The kind of religious education potentially raises up students who have reliance only on their own community (in-group trust). No matter how good its actions, any other religious group must be considered evil. This sort of religious teachings also will further strengthen religious chauvinism, in which one's own social community is superior (positive in-group), while others are always understood as inferior (negative out-group). This attitude can, in turn, hamper

the communication process between students and discourage contact with those who are different, something that must be avoided in religious education in this country.

Part V

RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SPACE OF THE SCHOOL

Continuing the discussion in the previous sections on the political history of education, the 2013 Curriculum, and religious education in it, this section examine two issues: first, spiritual organizations in schools as a challenge for multiculturalism in the school, and second, religion in the public space of the school as how religious identity in shown at school. Although spiritual organizations and religious identity in the public sphere may be outside of the learning process in the classroom curriculum, these two issues are very influential in forming identity in the school and in the relationship patterns that develop among students. In examining both issues, this section focuses on the experiences of (non-religiously-affiliated) public schools or state high schools (SMA Negeri).

Spiritual Organizations: Background and Transitions

Spiritual organizations, or the like, for students at the school have existed since the New Order Era. Their presence is aimed at building unity among their members and a sense of militancy in the group, but in general they still show a tolerant attitude towards other groups. "Christian Spirituality" has existed since the 1970s and emphasizes of the intensity of Christian teachings very strongly. These organization belong to the parachurch, institutions outside the formal church which have special mission for service, in this case for students. At the outset, parachurch organizations with charismatic and evangelical religious orientations working with university

students also began to target high school students in the school environment. The institutional name for Christian spiritual activism at that time was the Fellowship of Christian Students (PSK).

During the New Order and even earlier, Muslim student movements such as the Indonesian Islamic Students (PII, established in 1947), Nahdlatul Ulama Student Union (IPNU, established in 1954), Muhammadiyah Student Association (IPM, established in 1961) and others were active in schools. In the late 1980s, the New Order regime prohibited Muslim student movements from participating in the internal activities of schools. For Muslim students, the Islamic Spirituality organization (Rohis) later became an alternate to school opposition. Although, students could still join in the Islamic movements named above outside school, but Rohis becomes the only alternative available in the school environment. In practice, the organizational structure of Rohis is different from school to school. In some schools, it functions as the "Bureau" of Islamic Spirituality or Division of Piety towards God Almighty specifically for Muslim students within the school student organization (OSIS), while in other schools, it is an independent extracurricular organization for students separate from OSIS. Similar patterns of structure and development also apply to Christian Spirituality (Rokris), Catholic Spirituality (Roka), and others.

The fall of the New Order regime opened up opportunities for citizens or social groups to express their views and attitudes openly. The euphoria of the Reformation Era was difficult to control. Many ideologies and views which had been controlled by the previous regime now moved more freely in society. Public discourse and religious orientations in society were not resistant to the influence of the democratization of the Reformation era. These trends also shaped spiritual organizations in the school. In certain years and certain schools spiritual organizations began to take on more active positions and structured organization. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, this was happening mostly at a university level but it soon spread to the senior high school

(SMA) level, particularly to Public Senior High Schools (SMA Negeri).

Broadly speaking, the Catholic Spirituality (Roka) in the Reform Era developed into a stable strength of religious fervor. Some Christian Spirituality (Rokris) saw an increase in fervency following the influence of charismatic and evangelical movements that were undergoing breathtaking expansion outside the school environment. As mentioned previously, these shifts in the orientation of spirituality in schools was also influenced by outside developments, especially on university campuses. Why did this occur? The following discussion focuses specifically on the patterns of relationship through which outside transformations of religious views entered the school. The most striking new fervency occurred in Rohis. Although not all, and perhaps actually only a small fraction, of Rohis organizations were affected, the orientation of Rohis as a whole shifted during the Reform era. One factor underlying this shift was the arrival into Indonesia of Islamist positions from abroad. Religious organizations and institutions were no exception among the many new institutions springing up during this period. Through these Islamic organizations emerged to promote these ideas first on college campuses and later in the high school environment what they promoted should not be labeled ideology. Some Rohis have a relationship with the *liqa'* or *tarbiyah* (Islamic education) network called Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK) or Campus Da'wah Organization which have a distinctively religious orientation and are generally considered more exclusive or restrictive than others. The group is presumed to have taken its inspiration from the *tarbiyah* movement in Egypt. This has led to the assumption that Rohis movements which have adapted the *liqa'* model have strong similarities with networks and movements in the Middle East (Wajidi, 2011; Yon Machmudi, 2008). It has also been pointed out that, at certain times, Rohis activists have been a target of political parties close to the *tarbiyah* movement on university campuses.

Curriculum and Method

The activists of school spiritual organizations such as the Rohis, Rokris, and Roka doubt the capability and effectiveness of religious education classes in forming the views, behavior, and religious "militancy" of students. Therefore, what to them is the less profound knowledge of religious education in the classroom is bridged by getting students active in spiritual organizations. In addition, the spiritual organizations also aim to strengthen students against such negative behaviors such as fighting, drug abuse, and sexual promiscuity. Because, in the public schools, there is generally religious diversity among both teachers and students, the spiritual organizations also have to pay attention to the possible influence of other religions that could potentially lead to student conversions. As a result, there are actually common points of concern among spiritual organizations in schools, especially how to reinforce students' religious understandings beyond what they get from religious education in the classroom.

The curriculum and mentoring materials vary greatly from one Rohis to another and are strongly influenced by the dominant patron or mentor in each Rohis. Generally speaking, the curriculum used in the Rohis consists of two types, namely the regular material and the actual material. The regular material range from daily devotionals (*ubudiyah*) to fellowship activities (*ukhuwah*). These materials, for example, includes learning the Holy Quran, *hadith*, *fiqh* (Islamic law), and *akhlak* (morals) as well as materials addressed to the problems of adolescence such as drug use, fighting, and sexual promiscuity. The actual material is based on current issues. For example, students are asked to respond to political issues in the Middle East and the Muslim world. While the regular material is prepared in a series of levels suitable for each level of membership, the actual material respond to actual events that are happening (Wajidi, 2011). Some Rohis with the character of the tarbiyah group call on their members to live their religious life exclusively, to understand the Islamic values as monolithic, and to ignore the richness and wisdom of diverse interpretations of Islam. This kind of Rohis also stress

the importance of disciplined religious ritual in and outside school environment.

The mentoring offered in some Rohis indirectly help shape fundamentalist attitudes in students. For example, Rohis in some schools in Jember and Yogyakarta combines religious knowledge, which tends to lack regard for social aspects, with such international phenomena as Afghanistan, the cartoons of the Prophet, and so on. This kind of teaching leads students indirectly to radical understanding. For example, in the context of Rohis, if a teacher has the same religious ideology dominant in the international Islamic movement, it is to be expected that the style of the program and activities will resemble international Islamic ideology and propaganda. Furthermore, research by Ciciek Farha (2008) in several cities (Jakarta, Padang, Cianjur, Cilacap, Pandeglang, Yogyakarta, and Jember) shows that Rohis activities in some schools direct students to become "militant *mujahid*," to make war or *jihad* against the infidels.

The curriculum in Rohis, especially the regular material, can be compared with the curriculum in the Protestant Rokris and Catholic Roka. The mentoring materials in Rokris and Roka examine humans' relationships with God and other humans. In other words, Rokris and Roka encourage students to follow Jesus Christ in all aspects of life to have a close relationship with God, and to live according to the Scripture. In reality, the impression of an exclusive attitude cannot be eluded. Exclusivist attitudes can be found in Rokris and Roka, although not as prominently as in Rohis. Likewise, the extent of exclusivism in Rokris and Roka also depend on the sponsoring groups both from inside and outside the school which shape the views and ideals of the Christianity which is being taught.

There are two models of the dissemination of materials and the transformation of ideas in the spiritual organizations in schools. First there are patterns of mentoring that emphasizes the presence of a teacher from the school or a mentor from outside the school who presents the study materials and leads discussions. This is considered to be the dominant pattern in

the process of conveying ideas to the students because of the important roles of the advisors and mentors. In some schools, the advisors are teachers from the school itself, but in most schools, teachers may formally remain as advisors, but there are other advisors, mentors or *murabbi* who are alumni of the school. The mentors who are not teachers are generally recent alumni who have become university students. Not infrequently the mentors from outside are considered to have a greater knowledge of religion and to be more creative and exciting in presenting the material. Therefore, in some spiritual organizations, the mentors who are not teachers may be more dominant and preferred by students compared with those who are.

The second pattern is the dissemination of materials and the transformation of the ideas in each spiritual organization through a "peer relationships" (in Rohis) and "group growing together" (in Rokris and Roka). This second pattern is also quite effective since students can understand each other more easily. This pattern is considered interesting and effective, and has its own advantages, especially because of the attraction to students that they can join and develop in-group feeling. The pattern of peers is used not only to explore the teachings of religion, but also to discuss other questions, including the students' difficulties in understanding the lessons at school. The use of these two patterns are very prominent in the spiritual organizations in schools. In addition to these two patterns, there is another pattern called the pattern of inter-school networks or friendship forums which serve to further strengthen the structure of cohesion between the spiritual organizations across schools.

For some school administrators, the existence of mentoring by spiritual organizations is seen as an important part of efforts to improve the process of learning about religion (Wajidi, 2011). In terms of time, counseling and mentoring not only take place on school days, but also on Sundays through a program called Religious Assistance. In Padang, local officials even issued a regulation which requires religious assistance outside of school hours for students from grade 3 to senior high school or the

equivalent (Local Regulation of Education Padang 2011, Chapter V, Article 16). For some schools, spiritual organizations are mainly an attempt to increase and strengthen religious education outside the classroom and to give greater attention to students' morality. However, for the other schools, the existence of the spiritual organization has led more deeply to ideological transformation and religious politics among students.

The Public Space of the School

The existence of this last category of spiritual organizations, usually associated with Rohis, perceived as worrying by many parties because the exclusivism of Rohis can influence or even dominate the public space of the school. What is the meaning of the public space of the school here? By public space of the school, we mean simply the environment and the situation in which the school community can communicate and interact openly, naturally, fairly and without discrimination. As one kind of public space, the school plays an important role in planting and nurturing awareness of diversity in the next generation. The dominance of some, but not all, Rohis makes the public spaces of some schools restrictive and frequently alienating for minorities.

Such situations are usually not only influenced by the Rohis organization itself, but also by school policies that support the emergence of religious identities openly and strongly in school. For example, on one hand, the Islamic discourse pushed by Rohis was found to be already intensively and extensively developed in one public senior high school we studied. On the other hand, the school administration approved of the development and even supported it by issuing official policies that strengthened religious activity, identity and religious symbols in the school. In these circumstances the public space this public senior high school will inevitably be dominated by the current model of excessive religiosity.

It should be recognized that spiritual organizations are able to reinforce the religious identities of students. As mentioned above, these spirituality organizations are not only quite successful in tackling the flaws of the religious education

materials, but also succeed in raising the spirit of religious learning for students in schools, especially when religious instruction corresponds to the religious ideology introduced by mentors from spiritual organizations. Yet this heightened spirit seems to stimulate the excessive strengthening of religious identity. For example, Muslim students will accentuate certain symbols in order to express their religion. Their interactions are relatively limited to just casual socializing among members of Rohis, much like Christian students who are members of Rokris or Roka. The strong currents deepening religious knowledge in schools conducted by spiritual organizations contribute to strengthening students' religious identity with the effect of segregation in the domain of friendships among students outside of the classroom. Students are segregated by religion, leading to unhealthy contestation in the public space of school, occurred among students in the spaces for creativity outside of study hours, in, for example, the selection of OSIS committees (Salim, 2011).

The strong influence of "religion" in the educational process tends to increasingly restrict the public space of the school. One of the real impacts is the establishment of exclusive groups based on religion, as described above. The common symptoms that can be seen is hardening of religious identities among students, both in classroom discussion and in relationships. Moreover, as intensive, systematic, and organized movements are emerging in public schools (Farha, 2008). Conservative and radical religious groups, both national and international, have been using schools, mainly through the spiritual organizations, as one means of disseminating the values and practices of radicalism. For example, the Rohis in one public senior high school in West Java carries out extracurricular activities such as physical training in order to defend their religion. In some schools, students are even drawn into exclusive religious understanding through demonizing religious understandings different from their own. Not a few students are dragged into the political-ideological polemic discourse on current issues such as transnational leadership, the public and domestic roles, dress, polygamy, early

marriage, interfaith marriage, pornography laws, *ghazwul fikri* (war thinking), wars (in Chechnya, Iraq, Afghanistan, Poso, Ambon, Syria, etc.), terrorism, and so on (Wajidi, 2011).

The phenomenon of the strengthening of religious identity has led to a hardening of fundamentalism in schools. The strengthening of religious identity in the public space of the school is, of course, not always significantly negative. The problem is the strengthening of religious identity is likely to bring excessive exclusivism. There is a single cause of exclusivism in school; several factors are intertwined. One is the inclusion of certain religious symbols in the school environment, especially in state senior high schools. For example, verses from religious scriptures, stickers declaring pride in one's religion, and even stickers showing solidarity with co-religionists in other countries who are suffering can be found throughout the school environment (Wajidi, 2011). Religious symbols may not drive students to be exclusive, but they do present that impression when displayed in too large and striking a way in a public senior high school. The situation is different in religious schools, where religious symbols are considered standard.

A second factor is the emergence of rules, both written and unwritten, in some senior high schools which refer to religious teachings, especially regarding restrictions or prohibitions on women presenting themselves in public. Some even include prohibitions of women uttering any sound because their voices are considered *aurat*, intimate zones which must not be shown to members of the opposite sex who are not *mahram* or close family members. They also include the prohibition of women shaking hands with men who are not *mahram* (Wajidi, 2011). The rules are made both by the school and by spiritual organizations which dominate the public space of the school.

Third, in addition to religious symbols, many public senior high schools enforce uniformity in forms of dress according to religious identity. The uniformity comes not only through the initiative of the school, but, in many areas, from local governments which make policies regarding with student

attire based on religious rules. One example are the regional regulations and instructions from the regional head concerning clothing based on Islamic rules that have intruded into the public space of the school in numerous districts such as Padang, West Pasaman, South Pesisir, Tasikmalaya, Gowa, Pandeglang, Entekang, and so on.

What is the impact of exclusivism and the constriction of public space in the school? Although it is uncertain whether the constriction of public space in schools directly affects the emergence of and recent increase in violent acts in the name of religion involving youth, but three effects of restriction of public space are of concern. First is the fading of the school as a public space that is free for all denominations or sects within each religion. In schools where the restriction of public space has occurred religious interpretations have become standardized according to certain beliefs (*i.e. tarbiyah* movements). In many cases, the public space of the school is developing in a way that leads to domination and discrimination towards religious minorities which are not as aggressive as those who join the spiritual organization.

Second, students are segregated by religion. A study in Yogyakarta has shown unhealthy contestation between students in the spaces for student creativity outside of study hours. At that school, the term white and red "territory tiles" has emerged. The white tiles are associated with Muslim activities, while the red tiles are associated with "rebel" groups of students. The "white tile" activities are centered on Youth Scientific Club (Kelompok Ilmiah Remaja) and the Youth Red Cross (Palang Merah Remaja), its symbol overhauled from a red cross (a Christian symbol) to a red crescent, – while the "red tiles" joined groups for nature lovers, basketball, martial arts, and so on (Salim et al., 2011).

Third is the excessive separation between boys and girls, sometimes even a ban on interaction altogether. This segregation not only occurs at times for religious activities, but also in public event. Dividers are installed in the worship space (musholla

or mosque), in classrooms, and in the school hall, even when they are not being used for religious ceremony. The segregation has extended into the domain of relationships outside of the classroom, as boys and girls are also separated in the school cafeteria and forbidden from shaking hands.

Role of the School Administration

Religious exclusivism in the school has been just one face of the influence of spiritual organizations in the public space of the school. In a different case, spiritual organizations such as Rohis, Rokris, and Roka can show other distinct faces. They can link the religious instruction with social activities and inter-religious camps to strengthen social solidarity (Cahayati, 2007; Fidianti, 2009).

The differences show the influence of the authority in charge of the spiritual organizations in each school, whether the vice- principal of student affairs, the religious education teachers as advisors for the spiritual organizations, and mentors coming from outside the school. Of the three, the vice-principal and teachers of religion play the key roles. The mentors from outside the school, usually alumni and campus activists in the city where the school is located, cannot penetrate substantially if the vice-principal and teachers of religion have a clear vision and mission and the courage to firmly reject the influence of outsiders if it is contrary to the national education goals or the school's mission and vision. The religious teachers as advisors have a role directing the activities and programs of the organization. Their position is very important in the development of programs and activities of student's spiritual organizations.

Groups from outside the school must pass through or ask for permission from the vice-principal of student affairs in order to be involved with the school's spiritual organizations. After that, the vice-principal may give the authority for mentoring and advising students to the teachers of religion. The extent of the external influence will be determined by the religious education teachers. They ultimately set the format of the spiritual organization, even if there are teachers of other subjects

who also guide the spiritual organization. The power of outside influence in the system of students' spiritual organizations is largely determined by advisors' ideas about religious thought. This is why the spiritual organizations in each school have different syllabi, instructional materials, and methods of spiritual mentoring.

Nevertheless, what actually happens is that sometimes schools are indifferent to the development of students' spiritual organizations. If this happens, then the schools will be very susceptible to being infiltrated by the ideologies of religious movements from outside the school. Quite often it is the case that the ideas of such religious movements are contrary to the national education goals and to the vision of the school as a public senior high school. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that school administrations including the school principal, vice-principals of student affairs, and all teachers should pay attention to this issue.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Suhadi completed his doctoral studies at the Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands. Currently he is a lecturer at the Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University. His main research interests are identity and the relationships between religious groups, Muslim-Christian relations, religious education, religion and human rights as well as religion and natural disasters. His dissertation was published as *I Come from Pancasila Family: A Discursive Study on Muslim-Christian Identity Transformation in Post-Reform Era Indonesia* (Zurich: Lit-Verlag, 2014). A recent research article is "Emergence of Religious in Post-Tsunami Japan 2011 and Religious / Humanitarian Cultural Diplomacy," *Multiversa Journal of International Studies*, IIS-UGM, Vol. 3, (December 3, 2013), pp. 199-210.

Mohamad Yusuf is a doctoral candidate at the Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands, and is currently a lecturer at the Faculty of Cultural Studies, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. His research interest is in the issues of religious education and diversity and tourism studies. Some of his publications include: Mohamad Yusuf and Carl Sterkens "Religious Education in Religiously Affiliated Schools and the Influence of the State and Religious Community School on Politics," in V. Kuster and R. Setio (eds.), *Muslim-Christian Relations Observed: Comparative Studies from Indonesia and the Netherlands*. (Lit Verlag: Münster, 2014) pp. 47-71, and Mohamad Yusuf and Carl Sterkens "Religious Education and

the Inter-group Attitudes of the Indonesian Students," in *Journal of Empirical Theology* (forthcoming).

Marthen Tahun earned his MA at the Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University. Since 2010 he has worked as a researcher at CRCS. Besides being a researcher for the Annual Report on Religious Life in Indonesia, Marthen also served as research coordinator on the Pentecostal Movement in Indonesia, a joint project of CRCS and the Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Initiative based at the University of Southern California (2010-2012). In 2013, he became one of the coordinators of research on Christianity in Indonesia as part of the Christianity and Freedom Project at the Berkley Center, Georgetown University, USA.

Budi Asyhari-Afwan earned an M.A. degree at the Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University. For the last seven years he has been actively involved in the Division of Research and the Resource Center at CRCS. The main research interest which he focuses on is around the local rituals as well as the relationship between religion and politics. He is co-author of the Annual Report on Religious Life in Indonesia published by CRCS UGM. Budi recently completed a monograph on the peace movement in Papua, which was published by CRCS. Besides working at CRCS, he is active as an editor of *Al-Manar* magazine.

Sudarto graduated from the Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies (CRCS), Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University. The focus of his research is religious freedom in Indonesia. Before pursuing his master's degree, he was a teacher of Islamic education in Don Bosco Senior High School in Padang and also the Chief Division of Civil and Political Rights for the National Human Rights Commission in West Sumatra. Sudarto is actively writing in the mass media in Padang, has written several articles in the *Journal of Women* and *Syir'ah* Magazine, and contributed to the annual report on religious freedom published by Setara Institute in Jakarta.

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THE POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

THE 2013 CURRICULUM, AND THE PUBLIC SPACE OF THE SCHOOL

This edition of the Report on Religious Life in Indonesia examines three issues. First, its analysis of the politics of religious education includes a look at the history and ideology of religious education, religious identity as a student index, and religious education for members of "belief groups" not recognized by the state as official religions. Second, it examines the 2013 Curriculum and the place of religious education in it. The monograph also investigates the new requirement of "spiritual competence" as a new "burden" for all school subjects in the 2013 Curriculum. Third, it discusses religion in the public space of the school. Since the Reform Era, the existence of spiritual organizations is very significant in shaping religious identity in the public space of schools. The Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS) is a Master's program in the Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University, established in 2000. The three study areas on which learning and research are focussed at CRCS are inter-religious relations; religion, nature and culture; and religion and contemporary issues. Through its academic work, research, and public education programs, CRCS aims to develop the field of religious studies and to shape public understanding of the dynamics of religious life and social issues in order to further the development of a democratic, multicultural, and just society. Further information about CRCS, can be found at http://www.crcs.ugm.ac.id.

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